

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03  
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 OMB-01  
SAJ-01 CU-02 /062 W  
-----201010 117702 /21

R 190900Z FEB 77  
FM AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4143  
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
USMISSION USBERLIN UNN  
USMISSION NATO  
AMCONSUL BREMEN  
AMEMBASSY HAMBURG  
AMCONSUL FRANKFURT  
AMCONSUL MUNICH  
AMCONSUL STUTTGART

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BERLIN 5336

E O 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINT, GE  
SUBJ: SIGNS OF EASING IN THE GDR CULTURAL SCENE

REF: A) BERLIN 5160; B) BERLIN 5266

SUMMARY: THERE ARE SIGNS THAT FOR THE TIME BEING  
THE WORST MAY BE OVER IN THE POST-BIERMANN GDR  
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CULTURAL CRACKDOWN. WHILE NUMEROUS WRITERS AND  
ARTISTS REMAINED DAZED AND DEPRESSED BY WHAT THEY  
CONSIDER TO BE AN SED OVERREACTION TO THE BIERMANN  
PETITION, SEVERAL RECENT GDR ACTIONS -- INCLUDING  
LETTING REINER KUNZE GO TO AUSTRIA TO RECEIVE A  
PRIZE -- SUGGEST THAT THOSE WHO SIGNED THE PETITION  
WILL BE ALLOWED TO CONTINUE WRITING AND PUBLISHING

IN THE GDR, INCLUDING THOSE OUSTED FROM THE SED. HOWEVER, THE SED CONTINUES TO APPLY VARIED DEGREES OF PRESSURE ON VARIOUS GROUPS IN THE BIERMANN AFTERMATH, WITH YOUNG UNKNOWN WRITERS AND THE GDR TELEVISION AND RADIO SECTOR COMING IN FOR THE MOST ATTENTION. MOST CULTURAL FIGURES WITH WHOM WE HAVE TALKED RECENTLY DOUBT A CHARTA 77 MOVEMENT WILL DEVELOP HERE, ALTHOUGH STEFAN HEYM BELIEVES TO THE CONTRARY. END SUMMARY.

1. SIGNS OF THE EASING ATMOSPHERE: MOST WRITERS AND ARTISTS INVOLVED IN THE BIERMANN AFFAIR HAVE REEMERGED ON THE SCENE IN EAST BERLIN, TALKING OPENLY WITH EACH OTHER AND WESTERN DIPLOMATS ABOUT THEIR CURRENT STATE OF MIND. WHILE ONE YOUNGER WRITER, JUERGEN FUCHS, AND TWO MEMBERS OF ONE OF THE GDR'S MOST POPULAR ROCK GROUPS REMAIN UNDER ARREST, THE STUDENTS ARRESTED IN THE JENA CRACKDOWN HAVE BEEN RELEASED. HOWEVER, WELL-KNOWN GDR DISSIDENT ROBERT HAVEMANN REMAINS UNDER MODIFIED HOUSE ARREST, ABLE TO LEAVE HIS HOME BUT PREVENTED FROM HAVING CONTACT WITH WESTERN DIPLOMATS OR JOURNALISTS.

2. BUT THERE ARE INCREASING SIGNS THAT THE WORST OF THE CRACKDOWN IS OVER, FOR THE TIME BEING AT LEAST. ACCORDING TO A WELL-INFORMED GDR SOURCE, THE SED IS SATISFIED THAT IT WILL FACE NO MORE ACTIVE OPPOSITION ON THE BIERMANN AFFAIR. IN RECENT PARTY MEETINGS, ACCORDING TO THIS CONTACT, ONLY SIGNER-ACTOR MANDRED KRUG WAS SINGLED OUT AS A PROBLEM  
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DUE TO HIS LOUDLY-VOICED REFUSAL TO SUPPORT THE BIERMANN OUSTER. EMBOFF WHO SPOKE TO KRUG AT A NEW YEAR'S PARTY FOUND HIM OPEN IN HIS CRITICISM OF THE SED'S ACTION AND EVEN HINTING THAT HE MIGHT APPLY TO EMIGRATE TO THE FRG. WHILE KRUG'S NEWEST FILM WAS CANCELED AFTER HE SIGNED THE BIERMANN PETITION, HE WAS ALLOWED TO MAKE A CONCERT TOUR IN THE SOUTHERN GDR AFTER NEW YEAR'S. WE HAVE HEARD REPORTS THAT THE LOCAL SECURITY FORCES PLANTED HECKLERS IN THE AUDIENCE TO PUT MORE PRESSURE ON KRUG, ONLY ADDING TO HIS ANGER. KRUG, HOWEVER, APPEARS TO BE THE LAST PROBLEM CHILD ON THE BIERMANN CASE IN THE SED'S EYES.

3. THE SED CONTINUES TO EMPLOY A WIDE VARIETY OF METHODS OF DEALING WITH THE BIERMANN PETITION SIGNERS. AFTER BEING DENIED ENTRANCE TO UNIVERSITY STUDY AS A RESULT OF HER SUPPORT FOR BIERMANN, SIBYLLE HAVEMANN, THE 21 YEAR-OLD DAUGHTER OF

ROBERT HAVEMANN, HAS APPLIED TO EMIGRATE TO THE FRG  
AND WILL BE ALLOWED TO LEAVE.

4. WHILE SEVERAL WRITERS SUCH AS JUREK BECKER,  
GUNTER KUNERT, SARAH KIRSCH, GERHARD WOLF AND KARL  
HEINZ JAKOBUS HAVE BEEN EXPELLED FROM THE SED, NOT  
ONE OF THE PETITION SIGNERS HAVE BEEN REMOVED FROM THE  
GDR WRITERS UNION, WHICH MEANS THEY ARE FREE, IN  
THEORY, TO CONTINUE PUBLISHING IN THE GDR. THE SED  
MAY HAVE CONCLUDED THAT IT WOULD DO ITSELF MORE HARM  
THAN GOOD BY STIFLING GDR WRITERS WHO HAVE BEGUN TO  
GAIN INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION, WHICH REFLECTS  
CREDIT ON THEM AND THE GDR. OTHER RECENT ENCOURAGING  
SIGNS INCLUDE THE REAPPEARANCE OF JUREK BECKER'S  
FIRST NOVEL, JACOB THE LIAR, IN GDR BOOK STORES, AND  
A POSITIVE REVIEW OF PETITION SIGNER CHRISTA WOLF'S  
NEW BOOK, KINDHEITSMUSTER, BY SED-LOYAL WRITER  
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HERMANN KANT IN THE GDR CULTURAL WEEKLY SONNTAG.

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FM AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
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AMCONSUL MUNICH  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BERLIN 5336

5. PERHAPS MOST SURPRISING OF ALL, GDR WRITER  
REINER KUNZE, ON THE GDR BLACK LIST FOR HIS BOOK,  
THE WONDERFUL YEARS, WAS ALLOWED TO LEAVE THE GDR  
TO ACCEPT A LITERARY PRIZE IN AUSTRIA WITH EVERY  
INDICATION THAT HE WILL BE ALLOWED TO RETURN  
(BERLIN 5266).

6. OF PARTICULAR NOTE IS THE APPEARANCE IN THE  
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BRITISH NEW STATESMAN (AND PICKED UP BY THE WEST  
GERMAN WEEKLY STERN) OF A LONG ARTICLE BY STEFAN  
HEYM ONE OF THE INITIATORS OF THE BIERMANN PETITION.  
HE DESCRIBES HIS HEROIC, SELF-IMPOSED EFFORT TO  
WATCH ONLY EAST GERMAN TELEVISION FOR A MONTH IN  
OCTOBER 1976. HEYM HAS TOLD EMBOFF THAT HE SENT  
THE ARTICLE TO NEW STATESMAN WITHOUT OBTAINING PRIOR  
GDR APPROVAL IN ORDER TO "TEST" THE POST-  
BIERMANN CULTURAL ATMOSPHERE. HE HAS SUFFERED NO  
REPRISALS AS YET.

7. MOODS OF THE INTELLECTUALS: THE GDR  
WRITERS AND INTELLECTUALS WE HAVE SPOKEN WITH RECENTLY  
TEND TO TAKE A WAIT-AND-SEE ATTITUDE ON THE FUTURE  
CULTURAL CLIMATE IN THE GDR. THEY ADMIT THAT THERE  
ARE SIGNS THAT THE PARTY LEADERSHIP INTENDS TO ALLOW  
THEM TO GO ON PUBLISHING, AND RELATE THAT IN SOME  
CASES MID-LEVEL OFFICIALS MAY HAVE BEEN CHASTIZED  
FOR ASSUMING THAT HARSHER REPRISALS WERE THE ORDER  
OF THE DAY.

8. THESE WRITERS SEEM BELEAGUERED AND DEPRESSED  
ON THE WHOLE, HOWEVER, WITH SOME ARGUING THAT EVEN  
IF THEY ARE ALLOWED TO PUBLISH, THEIR FAITH  
IN THE GDR HAS BEEN DESTROYED TO THE DETERIMENT  
OF THEIR WORK. THIS ATTITUDE IS INDICATIVE OF THE  
SPECIAL ROLE AND PRIVILEGES THAT MAY GDR WRITERS  
ENJOY IN THE PRE-BIERMANN ERA AND OF THEIR SOMETIMES  
NAIVE BELIEF THAT THE GDR WAS HEADED IN THE RIGHT

DIRECTION AND THAT ITS MAIN PROBLEM WAS THE CONTROL EXERCISED BY MID-LEVEL BUREAUCRATS WHO DESTROYED COMMUNICATION BETWEEN GDR INTELLECTUALS AND THE SED LEADERSHIP.

9. THIS OPTIMISTIC OUTLOOK APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN IRREVOCABLY DAMAGED BY THE BIERMANN CRACKDOWN, AND MANY  
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GDR INTELLECTUALS APPEAR TO BE GROPING FOR A NEW STANDPOINT VIS-A-VIS THE SED. THE MOOD IS PERHAPS BEST SUMMED UP BY A REMARK PETITION SIGNER AND WRITER JUREK BECKER MADE TO AN EMBOFF RECENTLY "HERE I THOUGHT THAT I WAS MANIPULATING THEM (THE SED) ALL ALONG, USING THEM FOR MY PURPOSES." BECKER SAID, "NOW I REALIZE THAT IT WAS JUST THE OPPOSITE. THEY WERE USING ME FOR THEIR OWN ENDS."

10. CHARTER 77: THERE IS AT PRESENT LITTLE INDICATION THAT THOSE WHO SIGNED THE BIERMANN PETITION INTEND TO SUPPORT THE CHARTER 77 MOVEMENT IN CZECH-OSLOVAKIA OR INITIATE A SIMILAR MOVEMENT IN THE GDR. WRITER GUNTER KUNERT TOLD EMBOFF RECENTLY MOST GDR INTELLECTUALS DO NOT CONSIDER THEMSELVES IN OPPOSITION TO THE SED IN THE SAME SENSE AS POLISH OR CZECH WRITERS DO TOWARD THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT AND PARTY. GDR WRITERS, HE SAID, WANT TO ENGAGE IN A LOYAL CRITIQUE FROM WITHIN, THROUGH THEIR WORK. TO OUR KNOWLEDGE ONLY STEFAN HEYM HAS VOICED THE OPINION (TO AN EMBOFF) THAT RECENT GDR INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS RESEMBLE THE CHARTER 77 SITUATION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA. (AIRGRAM FOLLOWS). IT MAY BE HOWEVER THAT THE REGIME IS EASING IN GENERAL THE PRESSURE ON CULTURAL PERSONALITIES PRECISELY BECAUSE IT HOPES TO AVOID DRIVING THEM INTO MORE VOCAL OPPOSITION TO THE PARTY.POLANSKY

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## Message Attributes

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